/423 cont./

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV[1/4] gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

1/4 [see ext 116, pp 66-67, ANALYST]

Dr Thesis—DB S-S (1960) 1962 MSS? Senegal MS 37

the development of agricultural work: there has been none of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries: it consists of the existence

Dk Thiaf-48 S-5 (1960) 1962 MSM Senegal #537

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

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342 The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

[285]

1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of which may exceed 200,000 francs.

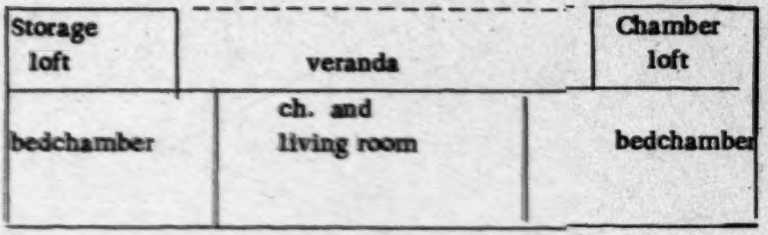
[435]

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

Dr. Thore 49 S-5 (1960) 1962 MSS Senegal MS 37

/188 cont./

362 342 In the third type the "veranda" appears, which distinguishes it from the first two; first of all, it materially increases the size of the dwelling, which reaches a width of five or six meters; on the other hand, this new element, superfluous /sketch appears here/ one might say, for there is a question



there of a necessary benefit -- already introduces a little complexity into the arrangement of the rooms and as a result encourages some organization of family life around a center. Moreover, this beginning is most often only a rough draft which reproduces the same pattern (see sketch above); nevertheless, this rough draft has the merit of existing and of translating into the material, into the surrounding environment, this sketchy effort toward a "home-life" /quoted in English/ of modern type.

In almost all cases the floor is slightly raised and cemented. There is practically never any ceiling, and the roof is constructed either with the aid of a sheet of metal or fibro-cement, or with a wooden frame covered with tar paper, for the disinherited.

351 How is the house placed within the parcel? It is practically impossible to answer this question, for there seems to be no general rule; sometimes the house is on the edge of the street and forms a wall; sometimes it is at the back of the parcel facing the road, and sometimes it extends perpendicularly to the length of a neighboring parcel. The only certain fact is that one does not /189/ come across a wooden house of any importance in the middle of the land. This is understandable because the parcel measures approximately 15 by 11. But

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[183] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

● 362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

●362
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10: Thoré--51 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal #S37
/189/

Table 24

Material \ Number of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+	Total
Wood	46	67	27	25	27	4	10	206
Durable material	9	15	16	2	2	1	0	45
Crinting	3	3	1	0	2	3	0	12
Straw (1)	7	7	1	1	2	0	0	18
Total	65	91	45	29	33	8	10	281

1. Each hut of straw contains only one room. When we divide them up under the rubrics of 2, 3, or 5 rooms, this means that there are 2, 3, or 5 straw huts on the same parcel.

/190 cont./

680 builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions. The
511 difference between the two groups of habitat is therefore very
362 noticeable: only the districts /191/ constitute a modern type of housing adapted to the exigencies of the city, while the vast majority of the inhabitants of the other quarters are deprived of the comfort which the modern city affords.

Can one say as well that they live in "shantytowns"? Certainly not. What characterizes the "shantytowns" is the crowding of the population in a limited space and the disorder of the huts. This is by no means the case here: the
[363] streets, although of sand, are well defined, and, above all, the parcels are large; there is actual space with its psychological reverberation which permits the inhabitants of a parcel to feel that they are by themselves. To the further question asked, "what is it that you like about your housing in Pikine?" the replies have brought out the existence of this feeling of "home" /quoted in English/, of "one's own home," which in most cases was associated with the space occupied and the tranquility that it provided.

This material and psychological reality of free space is all the more important since one realizes, if one relates the number of rooms utilized to the number of persons, that the relative scantiness of space brings with it an undeniable crowding in many instances. Here (p. 55) is the table, in absolute figures, of the homes, which have been listed simultaneously according to the number of persons and according to the number of rooms. The horizontal line gives the number of persons, and the vertical line that of rooms. For example, in the case located at the intersection of horizontal line No. 2 and the vertical indicated by the figure 6 and 7, the number 12 means that there are 12 households in which the number of persons is six or seven and that they occupy only two rooms. The first table gives the distribution in the quarters, the second that of the districts.

The broken line in the middle of the table separates it into two parts; inasmuch as in general one room has an area of about ten square meters, we have considered that the

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus
● at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts
162 than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenome-
592 non indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table
511 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to
362 verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

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Table 25. Number of rooms per person. 1) Quarters.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1	13	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	39
2	4	13	10	13	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

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What can be concluded from these various remarks? That in general the inadequacy of housing conditions explains why the people of Pikine attach so much importance to the land of their parcel, and why this space, as much if not more than the interior, is the center of family life and activity. The rooms of the dwelling serve mainly as a shelter for sleeping and to screen a conversation or a tête-à-tête from indiscreet eyes and ears. During the day one is better off outside than inside, and this is the reason why the veranda is so important. It is the link /194/ between outdoors and indoors; when one is sitting there, one is outside in the air and yet sheltered from the rain, the sun, and the stifling heat inside.

In the second place, it is undeniable that augmentation of the comfort of the habitat is accompanied by an enlargement

511
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Table 26. -- 2) Districts

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total..... ..	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In
592 order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation.
511 Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live
[592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

[369] 62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

17: Mercier--16 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/18 cont./ 369* 563 [162]
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African population has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied by qualitative changes: development of the categories of technicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants. This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population, has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society of origin become marked. At the same time, the European community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own services (specialized merchants, etc.). [161] [463] [565]

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these transformations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place). But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina, almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the 369* 563 361

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/377 cont./

369 The reconstitution of the municipality in 1956, a simple elec-
633 toral operation, proved /378/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ to be incapable of giving life to Gorée; at the beginning of 1961 it was forced to reattach itself to Dakar, for which it is nothing more than a tourist annex. Nevertheless, due to the crisis in housing
• [362] in Dakar, it offers its old houses to workers from the victorious great city.

369 The elimination of the other rival centers was not as easy,
505 but no less radical. The railroad linking Dakar and Saint-Louis,
496 finished in 1885, did not immediately bring about the decline
487 of the old Senegalese capital. On the contrary, asleep since entry up the river became impossible because of the increase in tonnage of the ships, it seems to have gained a revival of activity, especially after the construction of the Kayes-Niger section of
[439] the railroad at the end of the century. In fact the products destined for the Sudan or coming from there, which took the path of the Senegal River, were subjected to an obligatory freight-break there, which made Saint-Louis a quite important mart. But the construction of the Thiès-Kayes railroad after the First World War and the /379/development of automobile traffic had the effect, on the one hand, of directly annexing the Sudan to the zone of influence of Dakar, and, on the other hand, of isolating Saint-Louis and the old escales /trading centers/ of the Senegal River and accelerating their economic decline (Fig. 2).
369 Bakel, Matam, Podor, and Dagana are no more than administra-
[633] tive centers without any great economic activity. Saint-Louis, continuing as the capital of Senegal, preserved an appearance of vitality longer. But in 1957 Dakar robbed it of this function to the great despair of its population, which, after a phase of violent opposition, complains today in a passive resistance that the tokens of sympathy and the promises expressed a thousand times in the official speeches of the state authorities do not come to anything.

369 As for Rufisque, for a long time it had more economic
505 trump cards than Dakar. In fact, when the port had not yet been
439 constructed at Dakar, it was more advantageous to load the

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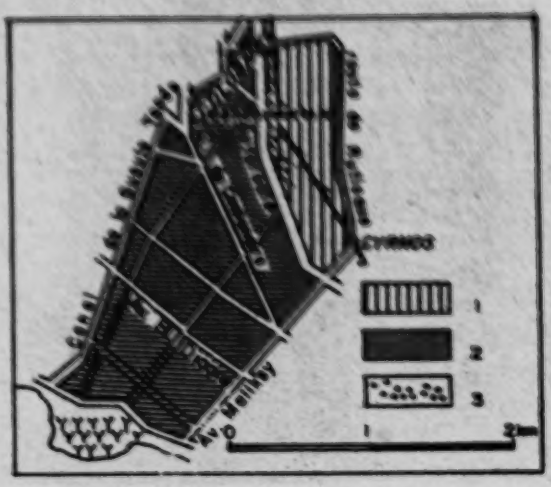

Fig. 4. Médina. -- 1. Industrial zone;
2. quarters more or less urbanized;
3. irregular quarters.

369 which progressively transformed the Dakar agglomeration.
563 There was first the creation of the S. T. A. G. D. (Service
temporaire de l'aménagement du Grand-Dakar /Temporary
[361] Office for the Arrangement of Greater Dakar/) for a syste-
matic urbanization of the city. Then there was the decision
to promote a policy of lodgings for African officials, while
a society for a mixed economy, the Société Immobilière du
Cap-Vert (S. I. C. A. P.) /Building Society of Cape Verde/
[362] studied and made up forms for cheap dwellings for mere rent-
ing or for rent-sale. At the same time there was the law
called "Lamine Gueye," which equalized upward several
[465] elements of the African and non-African wages at the time
when "l'africanisation des cadres" /Africanization of the
[647] staffs/ was promoted, which led to a mixture of Africans and
Europeans in the administrative lodgings and in the new quarters
for officials. Finally, first the staff-law and then autonomy